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In a 1953-54 survey of liberal arts colleges, 233 of the 404 responding colleges reported some provision for adult education. These were among the other findings: (1) proportions of colleges with adult programs were relatively high for Protestant institutions in the Midwest, in the 400-900 range of regular day student enrollment, and communities in the 60,000 to 500,000 population range; (2) credit courses led, followed by noncredit courses, institutes, short courses, lecture series, educational services for denominational constituencies, alumni education, and correspondence study; (3) credit courses were largely in humanities, social and behavioral sciences, business administration, and teacher education; (4) noncredit courses were most extensive in education for business and industry, religious education, and community improvement; (5) in contrast with academically oriented colleges, all the community oriented colleges had some noncredit courses. Numerous educational and community service reasons were cited for offering adult education, together with academic, financial, and other benefits seen in such involvement. (Five tables are included.) (ly)

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ADULT EDUCATION IN THE LIBERAL ARTS COLLEGES

by

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"Are the independent liberal arts colleges of the Unite tates engaged in adult education? If so, what are the extent and nature of their adult education efforts, and why have they added this function to their traditional role in higher education?" These questions have been asked and answered in a recent study, the results of which are summarized in the following pages.

The questions posed here are of some importance. The independent liberal arts colleges constitute one of the vital, essential segments of American higher education, and they number between 400 and 600, depending on the definition adopted. In 1953, when this study was made, they enrolled approximately 26 per cent of all college and university students in the country. Moreover, there is some evidence that they graduate a disproportionately large number of the leaders in science, education, and other important disciplines. Sometimes they exercise an influence on higher education out of proportion to their size because they are able to experiment and pioneer with new educational programs and methods more daringly than larger institutions. Their local importance is often further enhanced by their serving communities which are distant from any other institution of higher education.

The questions under discussion are important also because adult education is such a dynamic, developing part of American educational enterprise: it has been called one of education's chief growing edges. Estimates place the number of adult citizens in the United States engaged in organized educational activities at over 30,000,000. Adult education has been labelled with some justification one of the major hopes for the continued successful functioning of our democratic society.

It is important, then, to know what exists where these two main streams of education join, if, indeed, they meet at all. No picture of the liberal arts colleges is complete without reference to the adult education work which they may be doing, and an adequate understanding of the American adult education effort certainly demands knowledge

of what, if anything, the liberal arts colleges are contributing to it.

Strangely enough, such facts were not available when the present study was undertaken in 1953 and 1954.[1] A careful review of the literature about higher education and adult education at that time uncovered only a few brief descriptions of isolated programs for adults in liberal arts colleges. A handful of other articles urged adult education on the colleges. Beyond this, almost nothing. Even the official enrollment reports presented only the most fragmentary and confused picture of adult enrollments in the colleges.

Interviews with leaders in adult education and higher education in 1953 proved no more informative than the literature; interest in the questions asked was widespread, but no information was available. The speculation was frequently heard that liberal arts colleges are probably not active in adult education.

It is difficult to define with precision the terms "independent liberal arts college" and "adult education"; but for the purposes of the study, working definitions are essential. Therefore, a basic list of 427 colleges was selected. These are accredited, privately supported colleges which are independent of any larger administrative complex, such as a university. They have as the core objective of their curricula a broad intellectual foundation with emphasis on the humanities, the physical and biological sciences, and the social sciences. Some of them offer graduate study and some present one or two professional curricula, but these are considered auxiliary to the central purpose and spirit of the college, which is undergraduate and non-professional, at least in major emphasis. Institutions which are primarily teacher training colleges, technical institutes, agricultural and mechanical colleges, and military institutes were excluded from the study by definition.

"Adult education" can also be misunderstood if its meaning is not spelled out. For example, one college president said, "We consider all

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1. The Fund for Adult Education provided the necessary financial support through its Program of Study Grants in Adult Education. The writer is indebted to the many educators who were generous with their time in answering questionnaires, letters, and interview questions. Special mention, however, should be made of Dr. Cyril O. Houle, Professor of Education of the University of Chicago, under whose guidance the research was done and the full report written.

of our college students to be adults." Another said that his institution offers "college classes for mature citizens, but no adult education," implying that the term "adult education" refers only to recreational and hobby programs. The present study attempted to side-step these semantic difficulties by including as adult students all post-high school men and women who are engaged in organized education sponsored by a college as a part-time activity which they consider to be secondary to the major tasks of their lives. In the original questionnaire inquiry the colleges were asked simply, "Does your institution offer educational services planned primarily for adults who are not members of your regular, full-time student body?"

ARE THE COLLEGES ENGAGED IN ADULT EDUCATION?

Answers to this question revealed a surprising amount of adult education in the colleges. Four hundred and four of the 427 questionnaires (94.6%) were returned. Of these 404 colleges, 233 reported some kind of an adult education program. The 233 colleges engaged in adult education constitute 57.7 per cent of the colleges which replied and 54.6 per cent of all accredited, independent liberal arts colleges in the nation.

The number of adult students. — The volume of liberal arts college adult education might, on the basis of the above figures, easily be overestimated, for in reality, some colleges were serving so few adults that it is hyperbole to speak of their efforts as "programs" — some institutions reported that they were offering only one adult class, with fewer than twenty people enrolled.

On the other hand, twenty-five colleges reported five hundred or more adults participating in educational work on their campuses. In sixteen of the colleges the number of part-time adult students reported exceeds the number of full-time students in attendance.

Table 1 presents an analysis of the adult enrollment statistics as reported in the 1953 study. Even though 62.7 per cent of these colleges reported fewer than 200 adult students on their campuses, the total number of adults served by the independent liberal arts colleges in the fall of 1953 was almost 45,000.

Geographical differences. — Geographical regions differ markedly

in the extent to which the colleges in them are offering adult education. Only approximately 45 per cent of the colleges in New England offer adult work; the percentage is about the same in the South Atlantic states, and on the Pacific coast. This proportion is well below the figure of 57.7 per cent for the United States as a whole.

TABLE 1

SIZE OF THE ADULT PROGRAMS
IN INDEPENDENT LIBERAL ARTS COLLEGES

Number of Adult Students	Number of Colleges	Percentage of All Colleges Which Offer Adult Education
Under 100	89	38.2
100-199	57	24.5
200-299	22	9.4
300-399	14	6.0
400-499	4	1.7
500-599	9	3.9
600-699	1	0.4
700-799	5	2.1
800-899	0	0.0
900-999	2	0.8
1000 or over	8	3.4
Not reported	16	6.9
Special cases*	6	2.6
Total	233	99.9

*Colleges which offer adult work during winter, spring, or summer but which had no program in fall of 1953.

The reasons for this geographical disparity have not been established; but it seems likely that one factor is the presence along the eastern seaboard of many colleges with long-established and very stable academic traditions which do not include the education of part-time adult students among the functions of the college. The reasons for the low percentage on the Pacific coast are probably quite different. There it is a reasonable hypothesis that the widespread and strongly developed adult education programs of the state universities, junior colleges, and public high schools have made competition from the tuition-charging private colleges more difficult than in most other regions.

The regions with the highest percentage of adult programs are the East North Central (65.3%), West North Central (71.0%), and West South Central (68.0%). These relatively high concentrations may well be related to the fact that in these regions so many of the independent liberal arts colleges are located in small and medium-sized cities where no large university is present to meet adult education needs. It is also true that many of the colleges in these regions have adopted a relatively broad definition of their function in society.

Sources of control. — There are also marked differences in the incidence of adult programs among colleges with the three major sources of control. As Table 2 shows, the colleges controlled by Protestant denominations have the greatest tendency to offer adult work. This fact undoubtedly bears some relationship to the geographical distribution discussed above, for the Protestant institutions are concentrated rather heavily in the midwestern states. The non-sectarian private colleges, which show the lowest percentage of adult programs, include many of the older tradition-laden institutions of the eastern regions.

Size of the college. — The size of the liberal arts college apparently bears little relationship to the question of whether it will offer adult work. Table 3 shows that of the colleges with fewer than 300 full-time students 51.1 per cent have adult programs, while among those with over 1000 students the figure is 54.4 per cent. Adult work is slightly more common among the colleges near the center of the size range, with 57.0 per cent of the colleges enrolling between 400 and 900 full-time students offering educational work for adults.

TABLE 2

ADULT PROGRAMS BY TYPE OF CONTROL OF THE COLLEGE

Type of Control	Offer Adult Education		No Adult Education		No Reply	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Protestant denomination	145	61.4	85	36.0	6	2.5
Roman Catholic	59	51.3	42	36.5	14	12.2
Private, nonsectarian	29	38.2	44	57.9	3	3.9

Size of the community. — Although the size of the college apparently is not an important factor, the size of the community obviously is: an adult education program requires a local population base from which to draw students. Table 4 presents data concerning the relationship of adult programs to the number of people estimated to be living within commuting distance of the college.

As might be expected, the colleges with fewer than 10,000 people living within commuting distance have the fewest adult programs; only about 30 per cent of these institutions are offering educational opportunities for adults. The incidence of adult programs, however, does not increase uniformly with the size of the community. The most favorable population range is from 60,000 to 500,000. Within this range approximately 70 per cent of the colleges in the study are offering adult work. Above the 500,000 level the percentage drops off markedly; of the 74 colleges with over 500,000 people within commuting distance, only about 57 per cent have adult programs.

The scarcity of adult programs in colleges located in rural areas and very small communities is easily explainable, but why should the percentage reach a peak at about 350,000 and drop off significantly above 500,000? Probably the most important factor is that the large metropolitan areas are usually also served by major universities, most of which offer extensive adult programs. For example, New York City, Chicago, Minneapolis - St. Paul, Denver, and Los Angeles all have outstanding university evening colleges, as do almost all other metropolitan areas; and many liberal arts colleges in these cities hesitate to compete in the adult field with university programs.

TABLE 3

ADULT PROGRAMS BY SIZE OF FULL-TIME STUDENT BODY IN COLLEGE

Number of Full-time Students	Offer Adult Education		No Adult Education		No Reply	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
0-99	0	0.0	1	100.0	0	0.0
100-199	19	61.3	10	32.3	2	6.5
200-299	27	46.6	29	50.0	2	3.4
300-399	36	49.3	33	45.2	4	5.5
400-499	26	42.6	31	50.8	4	6.6
500-599	30	61.2	17	34.7	2	4.1
600-699	28	77.8	7	19.4	1	2.8
700-799	17	56.7	12	40.0	1	3.3
800-899	9	52.9	6	35.3	2	11.8
900-999	10	71.4	4	28.6	0	0.0
1000-1099	5	33.3	9	60.0	1	6.7
1100-1199	5	83.3	1	16.7	0	0.0
1200-1299	6	50.0	3	25.0	3	25.0
1300-1399	2	66.7	1	33.3	0	0.0
1400-1499	4	66.7	1	16.7	1	16.7
1500-1599	2	100.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
1600-1699	0	. . .	0	. . .	0	. . .
1700-1799	2	66.7	1	33.3	0	0.0
1800-1899	2	66.7	1	33.3	0	0.0
1900-1999	0	0.0	3	100.0	0	0.0
2000 and over	3	75.0	1	25.0	0	0.0
Total	233	54.6	171	40.0	23	5.4

TABLE 4

ADULT PROGRAMS BY POPULATION WITHIN COMMUTING DISTANCE OF THE COLLEGE

Population Within Commuting Distance	Offer Adult Education		No Adult Education		No Reply	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Under 1000	3	30.0	6	60.0	1	10.0
1,000-9,999	21	30.9	45	66.2	1	2.9
10,000-19,999	23	54.8	17	40.5	2	4.8
20,000-39,999	29	50.0	28	48.3	1	1.7
40,000-59,999	20	52.6	16	42.1	2	5.3
60,000-79,999	18	69.2	6	23.1	2	7.7
80,000-99,999	9	75.0	3	25.0	0	0.0
100,000-199,999	29	59.2	17	34.7	3	6.1
200,000-299,999	21	77.8	4	14.8	2	7.4
300,000-399,999	11	78.6	3	21.4	0	0.0
400,000-499,999	7	77.8	2	22.0	0	0.0
500,000-599,999	8	50.0	6	37.5	2	12.5
600,000-699,999	1	50.0	0	0.0	1	50.0
700,000-799,999	2	66.7	1	33.3	0	0.0
800,000-899,999	3	60.0	2	40.0	0	0.0
900,000-999,999	1	100.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
1,000,000 and over	27	57.4	15	31.9	5	10.6
Total	233	54.6	171	40.0	23	5.4

Trends. — The present study throws little light on the growth of the adult education movement among liberal arts colleges. There is no previous research against which to compare the above figures, and there has been no comparable follow-up study. There is, however, some evidence in the present data that much of the adult work in the colleges is of fairly recent origin and that the number of colleges participating is growing steadily.

Numerous unsolicited comments on the initial questionnaire indicated this accelerating interest among the independent liberal arts colleges. Six colleges wrote that their programs had been inaugurated within one year of the time of the study. One of these reported that plans had been made to begin adult courses in January of 1954, but that insistent and urgent demands from adults in the community led to the organization of several courses in the fall of 1953.

Five colleges wrote about definite plans to begin an adult program within a short time, in most cases later in the 1953-54 academic year. Six additional colleges expressed interest in entering the adult field or asked for assistance or suggestions. A representative response came from a college president who wrote that his college now offers no adult work, "but we wish we did."

Among the colleges which were offering adult work at the time of the study, eight volunteered the information that they are planning to expand their programs. One typical comment was, "We have done too little in this field." The fact that such comments were unsolicited, handwritten notes appended to a questionnaire would seem to justify attaching an importance to them somewhat beyond that which their numbers alone would imply.

WHAT IS THE NATURE OF ADULT EDUCATION IN THE LIBERAL ARTS COLLEGES?

It is as difficult to describe adult education in the independent liberal arts colleges in a few pages as it would be to characterize the colleges themselves in such short space. Just as the colleges are varied in their philosophy, curriculum, and methods, so their adult programs differ widely. In fact, there appears to be a good deal more variety in the adult education effort of the colleges than in that part of the educa-

tional program planned for full-time day students.

The basic reason for this extreme heterogeneity is not difficult to discover. The most significant generalization which can be made about liberal arts college adult education is that it is often an indigenous, local phenomenon, relatively uninfluenced by similar programs in other communities or institutions. Frequently it began when the officials of a college became aware of educational needs in the community and moved to satisfy them in ways appropriate to the community and college.

Most of the directors of adult education in the colleges which were visited have been drawn from the college faculty or administration, very few from the ranks of professional adult educators. In many cases they are still entirely out of touch with any other adult education programs, literature, or organizations. For example, a director of adult education in a metropolitan college which was then serving over 500 adult students was unaware of the Adult Education Association, the Association of University Evening Colleges, or their publications. Nor was he much interested in thinking of himself as anything other than a college faculty member serving a new public.

The resulting variety makes it difficult to reduce a description of these adult programs to a convenient system of classification. Eighteen colleges scattered throughout the country were visited and their adult programs studied more or less intensively. The assumption that these eighteen programs would fall naturally into a small number of natural categories based on important similarities proved to be unsound. Instead, the most striking observation was that they differ greatly in objectives, methods, content, and format, as the abbreviated analysis on the next few pages will indicate.

The description of the adult work of the colleges will center on two major factors—the organizing structures used in these programs and the content or subject matter. There will also be a brief attempt to identify some typical patterns, and there are, finally, several comments about teachers of adults.

The Organizing Structures

Adult education in the colleges is packaged in a variety of organiz-

ing structures. The major types can be encompassed under six headings. Credit courses are the traditional form borrowed from the regular curriculum of the college, meeting from two to six hours per week for a twelve week quarter or eighteen week semester and earning credit toward a degree. The noncredit course resembles the credit course except that it may be less formal; there is usually less required outside preparation, if any; and there are no examinations, grades, or degree credit.

A special type of noncredit course may be called the short course. It differs from the regular noncredit course chiefly in that it does not conform to the college calendar, sometimes running one night a week for six weeks, or perhaps four consecutive Saturday mornings. It is, nevertheless, a course in that there is continuity of objectives, content, and personnel. The lecture series, a fourth type of organizing structure, usually lacks this continuity of content and personnel. It consists of a series of discrete lectures, sometimes centering around a broad theme. It is usually available to the public either on an individual lecture or a series basis.

The institute or conference, of all the face-to-face campus educational forms, differs most from the traditional college course. It usually lasts from one to three days, or sometimes for a week. During this time the participants pursue one subject or several related subjects through lectures, discussions, field trips and other activities. It bears a surface resemblance to the typical American convention, but can be operated as an effective educational form. The sixth and radically different form of adult education is the correspondence course. It is included here because it often serves the same function as the other types of adult education, namely, to make available the educational resources of a college to adult men and women who cannot or do not choose to enroll in the regular daytime program.

On the original questionnaire the 233 colleges which offer some adult education were asked to indicate which of the above forms they employ. They were asked at the same time to indicate whether they offer "educational services for a denominational constituency" or "continuing education for alumni." Although these last two items are not organizing structures they are of some interest and are included with

these data.

Table 5 presents the results of this inquiry. Eighty per cent of the colleges offer college credit courses to their adult constituencies. This is far greater than the number using any other organizing structure. Furthermore, among the 45 colleges which offer some adult education but no college credit courses, only thirteen were serving more than 100 adults. Clearly, the college credit course is the dominant organizing structure of adult education in the liberal arts colleges, at least quantitatively.

TABLE 5

TYPES OF ADULT EDUCATION OFFERED

Types of Adult Education	Number of Colleges	Percentage of All Colleges Which Offer Adult Education
College credit courses	188	80.7
Noncredit courses	126	54.1
Institutes	59	25.3
Short courses	58	24.9
Lecture series	56	24.0
Educational services for the denominational constituency	47	20.2
Continuing education for alumni	28	12.0
Correspondence courses	10	4.3

The same predominance of credit work was revealed among the eighteen colleges which were studied intensively. Half of them offer programs which are made up primarily of college credit courses. At the other extreme, however, two of these colleges offer almost entirely noncredit programs. The remaining institutions make significant use of both credit and noncredit forms.

It is worthwhile to examine briefly the reasons which are given for this distribution of organizing forms. Why do college credit courses dominate the adult program in most of the colleges? And why, on the other hand, do a few colleges de-emphasize or refuse to use credit work in the adult programs? The answers are varied, and inconclusive.

Among the colleges which offer primarily college credit courses three different reasons or points of view were expressed. Most common was the conviction that there is an insufficient market for noncredit structures of any variety. In most of the colleges where this argument was advanced, some noncredit courses, institutes, or lecture series have been offered in the past with only indifferent success, and sometimes with an almost complete lack of response which left the college in an embarrassing situation.

Some directors of adult education have accepted this as the verdict of the public and have no disposition to question or to struggle against it. Others are puzzled and frustrated and will continue to experiment. Among the latter there is often an impatient expression of the conviction that very few of their adult students need or can use college credit, but that they still avoid noncredit courses as if there were "something wrong with them." One director has found that he can sometimes take a noncredit course in which enrollment has been insufficient and attract an adequate registration by offering the same course later for college credit.

To meet this problem some directors suggested that when noncredit and credit courses are offered side by side the community may infer that the noncredit label denotes lower quality or less value in some sense. They therefore suggest that credit and noncredit programs be administered and publicized separately. This is being done successfully in some institutions, and in others is projected for the near future.

In some colleges the adult program is largely in the form of college credit courses simply because those responsible for its administration have been unable to find time to develop other forms. Many of these directors of adult education have other major responsibilities on the campus, and the time which they can give to adult work is limited. Since the college credit course is the structure with which they, their faculties, and their constituencies are most familiar it is easy to concentrate on this type of organization. Some of these men expressed a desire to experiment with other forms and a conviction that they will do so successfully if and when they can find time. In the meantime there is an obvious and familiar job to be done with credit courses.

In a third group of colleges little consideration has been given to

any organizing structure other than the college credit course. There is a tendency in these institutions to equate "college level education" with college credit courses. The rightness of this form seems self-evident and there is no disposition to experiment with other approaches. This attitude seems to be less a conscious rejection of other organizing structures than a failure to consider them as logical alternatives.

Among these latter institutions are some in which all courses are offered for college credit even though the adults who register are not much interested in credit and the college officials prefer that they register "not for credit." The participants in these programs are urged to register as auditors. As such they pay tuition and are members of the classes, but they are exempt from all academic requirements and receive no grade or credit.

Such a system would appear to be an unnecessary carrying over of an old institutional form into a new situation for which it is ill adapted. In practice, however, it sometimes provides an educational opportunity for both the credit-conscious adult degree candidate and the seeker of a more informal educational experience, in a situation where separate programs might not be justified.

The historical and psychological reasons for the predominance of college credit courses are, then, reasonably clear and understandable. What can be said about the fact that some colleges offer only noncredit work for adults, and that some use a combination of credit and noncredit forms?

The reasons given for noncredit adult education are essentially "negative" in some cases. This reasoning, which apparently controls the decision in only a few colleges, is that college credit courses for adults are inevitably less rigorous, less academically respectable, than the courses for day students, and that therefore an adult program of credit courses would "lower academic standards" on the campus. If the college is to serve adults, according to this reasoning, it can do so safely only through noncredit activities. This conclusion is not widely accepted among these colleges, but does prevail in some.

Two other reasons for using noncredit forms, either exclusively or in combination with credit courses, are more positive in nature. One is the belief that adults prefer an informal, low-pressure noncredit

activity, in which all traditional college requirements are removed. This idea runs counter to the opinion of many adult educators, but on a few campuses a diversified, completely noncredit program has been amazingly successful.

The more significant justification for the noncredit form is that it permits the experimental development of educational experiences for adults, entirely uninhibited by traditional academic considerations. It is for this reason that most of the creativity displayed in liberal arts college adult education is to be found on the noncredit side of the ledger.

A footnote should be added to this discussion of organizing structures. Nothing has been said about residential programs of adult education, such as have flourished in England since World War II. In such programs adults live together for periods varying from a few days to two weeks, during which time their entire attention is devoted to organized educational experiences. This form cannot be said to play a significant part in liberal arts college adult education in the United States, since only one of the colleges in the initial inquiry reported such a residential program.

Some reference must also be made to the combining of basic units discussed above into larger, more complex organizing structures. One generalization which can be made is that where the adult program consists largely of college credit courses taken from the day curriculum, these tend to be combined in sequences and degree programs almost identical with those used in the full-time day curriculum. Most colleges which list extensive credit work offer the bachelor's degree to their adult students, or if they do not offer it now, they plan to do so as soon as adult enrollment expands enough to justify it.

Another type of organizing structure which combines several basic course units is the special certificate program. Such programs usually consist of a predetermined sequence of credit or noncredit courses all related to one educational goal, and offering a certificate to those who complete the required work. They are planned primarily for adults and are seldom available to the day students of the college. They are often, but not always, directed toward a specific vocational or professional end.

Both the content and the time schedules of such certificate programs

vary widely. As a category their distinguishing features are that they represent educational planning for adults, not simply the offering of regular college courses at an hour which is convenient for adults, and that they provide some continuity beyond the brief period covered by the typical individual course.

In a few institutions there is no organizing structure above the individual course level. For the most part, these colleges simply offer a varied list of noncredit activities, the parts of which bear no particular relationship one to the other. One assumption lying behind the absence of organizing structure to provide continuity among the courses is that such organizing looks too much like formal education and is therefore inappropriate for adults. The directors of these programs believe that adults prefer an experience which does not resemble traditional, formal higher education.

It is the judgment of the writer that these widely differing practices and points of view concerning organizing structures represent personal and institutional assumptions and prejudices more often than they do rational policies based on sound evidence. There is little basis for concluding that there is any positive correlation between a type of organizing structure and the public acceptance or the educational excellence of the programs now found in the liberal arts colleges. On the contrary, there are successful programs of adult education representing every shade of opinion on this issue.

Content

It is appropriate to include here a brief analysis of the subject matter of liberal arts college adult education; anything like a complete description would, of course, be too lengthy for this paper. The analysis falls naturally into two parts—the subject matters of credit courses and noncredit programs.

The content of credit courses has been transferred, usually with not more than slight modification, from the regular day curriculum.

Courses in the liberal arts and sciences—the humanities, social and behavioral sciences, and natural sciences and mathematics—account for approximately two-thirds of the credit offerings in a representative group of colleges. It may be somewhat surprising to note that the humani-

ties rank first among the three major divisions in the number of courses offered to adults in these colleges. Art, foreign languages, literature, music, philosophy, and religion are in considerable demand. Professional training in religion and hobby courses in art have been eliminated from consideration in this tabulation insofar as possible.

The social and behavioral sciences receive almost as much attention as the humanities in the adult programs of most of the colleges. Economics, history, political science, psychology, and sociology, all included under this heading, are approximately equal in their representation in the adult curricula. Geography ranks far behind these five subjects.

A poor third, numerically, among the three major divisions is science and mathematics. Courses in biology, chemistry, mathematics, physics, and related subjects are offered less than one-fourth as often as are courses in the humanities. The difficulty involved in providing laboratory experience for adults who must attend in the evening is one reason for this disparity. Lack of demand was also cited by some directors of adult education as a major factor.

The other two major divisions among credit courses are business administration and teacher education. Among the colleges studied there were more credit courses offered in the field of business than by any one academic discipline, and almost half as many as in all of the liberal arts and sciences combined. A few of these business courses are at the secretarial level; but most are in such areas as accounting, business law, and various aspects of management. Most of the colleges which offer business courses to adults also present some such courses to their day students. In some instances, however, the adult business curriculum has no counterpart in the day schedule, whereas in others it is much more extensive than that provided for the full-time student body.

The other type of professional training widely represented is for elementary and secondary school teaching. Most colleges which offer credit work at all include some courses in professional education, and for some institutions this is the most important single field. This is also the area in which graduate work is sometimes included in the adult program.

The content of the noncredit programs of adult education does not fall as neatly into a pre-existing scheme of classification as do the credit courses. For one thing, there is considerably more variety in noncredit adult education. Moreover, in the noncredit area it is much more difficult to separate content, methods, and organizing structure, even for the purposes of analysis and description. However, five general categories will be found to encompass most of the noncredit work in the liberal arts colleges: business and industrial education; religious education; community improvement; liberal education; and hobbies, crafts, and recreation.

It is in the field of education for business and industry that noncredit adult education in these colleges is most varied and extensive. It is also in the business field that the most original planning and curriculum building have been done. The result is considerable variety in both content and organizing structure.

Of the many forms which business education takes, the "management development" programs are perhaps the most important. Although they have been modeled somewhat on the pattern of the well-known university executive training programs, these small college efforts usually represent considerable cooperative planning by local college and industrial leaders. The resulting programs are varied in content, methods, and especially in format, reflecting as they do the felt needs of local business and industry and the philosophy and resources of the college. Such efforts as "The Industrial Management Institute" at Lake Forest College and "The Management Development Program" at Wittenberg College are representative of this form of adult education.

Several subjects appear in almost all versions of the management development idea. Courses dealing with the communication skills, both oral and written, are almost universal. Some approach to the problem of human relations in business and industry is almost as inevitable, and economics is included in most institutions. Principles of management, business law, and industrial relations are often part of the curriculum. Strictly liberal arts courses, such as "The American Heritage," a U. S. history course based on discussion of original documents, are only rarely made a part of the program.

Another field in which there has been some original curriculum

building is noncredit religious education for adults. Such work is offered in relatively few colleges, even though 82.2 per cent of these institutions are affiliated with church groups. In a small minority of colleges there has been a concerted effort to bring college level religious instruction to the church constituency living within 150 or 200 miles of the campus.

One college works through nineteen relatively permanent off-campus centers, each in a different city, town, or village. Seven hundred and twenty-five different people were enrolled in 42 subjects in these centers in 1953-54. Almost all courses dealt with Bible study, church history, religious education, church music, and preaching.

Other colleges operate by setting up temporary off-campus programs in two or three churches at a time, offering only one or two courses which meet one night per week for about eight weeks. The teachers sometimes make round trips of 300 miles to teach these courses, and they report widespread and enthusiastic response.

A third type of noncredit work is directed toward community improvement. There are some professional adult educators for whom the most important goal of adult education must be social action. They seek improved interracial relations, slum clearance, international understanding, or better municipal government through adult education. Many liberal arts college officials argue that these desirable conditions will be the byproducts of the type of college education which they are providing through their regular and adult programs, but few of them see social action or community improvement as a direct, immediate objective of their adult education work.

In one of the colleges visited, however, there has been a direct educational attack upon some of the basic problems of local government. This college, through its Political Science Department, has offered a variety of courses and lecture series for police officers, magistrates, justices of the peace, municipal and township officials, elected councilmen, and other citizens who are directly connected with local government. These are noncredit programs and are offered tuition-free by the college as a public service. In some cases local and state agencies act as co-sponsors, but the planning and much of the instruction is furnished by the college.

It is important to note that although the college administration is

in complete sympathy with this program and supports it financially, its success appears to be largely the result of the enthusiasm and work of one man, the chairman of the Political Science Department. He was credited by both the president and the director of the evening program with the original idea, with executing it, and with selling it to the community.

Some of the noncredit activities of the liberal arts colleges are designed primarily to provide intellectual stimulation, information, understanding, and skills in the areas usually called the liberal arts and sciences. They are not vocational or professional training in the immediate and narrow sense, although they may indirectly contribute to professional growth and advancement. They go beyond the skills which are the essential goals of hobby and craft activities; they have what is often referred to as intellectual content. These activities, varied though they are, can be combined and thought of here as the "liberal education" aspect of noncredit adult education.

Some noncredit liberal education is in the form of noncredit courses in literature, philosophy, or other subject matter areas. Such courses are neither common nor notably successful among these colleges. A second type is the discussion group, usually making use of lay leadership and often, but not always, following a prepared or "packaged" course of readings and study, such as the Great Books Foundation material. A third type of program falling in this category is the activity group in one of the creative arts. Theatre workshops, community choruses, and writers' conferences belong under this heading.

In comparison with the credit courses these noncredit attempts at liberal education are a minor part of the adult programs, both in terms of the number of activities scheduled and the number of people served. They are more significant than this fact would seem to indicate, however, because they represent curriculum construction especially for adults rather than the offering of traditional college courses at a new hour.

Hobbies, crafts, and recreation constitute another major area of adult education in the United States. The present study indicates that most liberal arts college officials feel that these subjects are worthwhile, but that it is not the function of the college to provide them ex-

cept as extracurricular activities for their full-time day students. This feeling is not, however, unanimous, for a few colleges are offering noncredit activities for adults in antique collecting, hooked rug making, photography, and even square dancing.

There are a few other noncredit adult activities in the colleges which cannot be classified under the five categories used above. An example is the reading improvement laboratory for which there is considerable demand in most communities. One common form of adult education which was not found in any of the colleges visited is technical vocational training. In addition to the question of whether such training would be appropriate there are practical space and equipment problems which rule out such subjects.

Typical Patterns

An attempt to identify typical patterns of liberal arts college adult education based on content and organizing structures illustrates again the extreme heterogeneity of this phenomenon. In the foregoing analysis credit courses have been classified under three major content headings, and noncredit work under five—a total of eight content categories. When the eighteen colleges which were studied intensively are examined to see which of these eight appear in each college, a total of thirteen different combinations are found. Nine of the eighteen colleges offer a combination of these major content types which is found in no other college in the sample. Such variety is one of the results of the relative isolation of many of these programs, and must be considered one of the strengths of liberal arts college adult education.

College-oriented and community-oriented programs.—The college adult programs, then, do not fall into a convenient set of categories on the basis of content and organizing structure. A meaningful dichotomy does appear, however, when the underlying attitudes toward adult education are examined in each institution. The distinction becomes most clearly apparent in a study of educational objectives and their sources.

Some objectives of adult education appear to be derived primarily from internal or campus sources, while others may be thought of as having an external or off-campus origin. Many colleges tend to approach their adult work largely from one or the other of these two points of view and, therefore, can be considered as primarily "college-oriented"

or "community-oriented." This distinction is not a rigid or complete basis of classification, but as a conceptual tool it is helpful in analyzing the differences among the colleges and in understanding the dynamics of those differences.

On one group of the campuses the thinking of the college officials about adult education might be fairly represented as follows: "We have a college which consists of faculty, buildings, books, courses, and other related items. The college has educated young people for many years, and we are satisfied that the total effect has been good. There are now adults in the community who for one reason or another did not attend college. They want and can profit from the kind of an educational experience which we have developed, so we will offer our faculty, buildings, books, and courses in the evening or on Saturday when the adults are not employed. We will give them as much as we can of the kind of education which we have developed through the years for young people."

The result, of course, is the evening college. It offers college credit courses which are essentially duplicates of courses found in the day curriculum. If it is a large enough operation it offers one or two or more degree programs, or at least associate degrees or certificates. The entire range of the day curriculum is not always repeated for adults, but that which is offered varies little from its daytime counterpart. The faculty in such evening programs is usually drawn largely from the full-time faculty of the college, although in large evening colleges it usually becomes necessary to secure the services of other qualified teachers from the community.

It would be an error to assume that this college-oriented approach to adult education produces the same kind of a program in each college. Rather, it permits a variety of emphases, each arising partly from the philosophy of the particular college itself but also influenced by the way in which the college officials perceive the community and their relationship to it. A few examples will illustrate.

One college, located in a residential area of a large midwestern city, is strongly liberal arts in basic educational philosophy. Its adult program consists almost entirely of credit courses in the humanities, sciences, and social sciences, drawn from the regular curriculum and taught by full-time faculty members. It draws about five hundred adults,

many of whom register as auditors and very few of whom are degree candidates. There is no attempt to offer a complete degree program for adults. There are a few business and professional education courses for adults, but these are also drawn from the day program and together they constitute less than twenty per cent of the adult curriculum.

On the other hand, an eastern college which serves about the same number of adult students caters almost entirely to degree candidates. It offers a very comprehensive list of courses, including some from every department in the college, but emphasizes courses for businessmen and teachers. It is possible, however, for an adult student to concentrate in any one of a wide variety of content areas.

Two other programs which are also clearly college-oriented in their planning offer only curricula which lead to a Bachelor of Science degree in Business Administration or its equivalent. These are highly structured programs in which almost every course offered is required for the degree. The curriculum is identical with its daytime counterpart except in the time schedule. Another college also offers only courses taken from the full-time schedule and taught by regular faculty members, but it has chosen to specialize in teacher education for adults. In-service teachers are the adult students in its evening and Saturday classes.

It is immediately clear that the only common factor in all of these college-oriented adult programs is that they are offering to their adult constituencies educational experiences which were originally planned for the full-time student group. In many cases some modification in content and method has taken place, but on the whole there has been no conscious effort to design an educational experience for the adult student body. This fact, however, has not prevented some of these colleges from operating successfully over many years, and with a growing demand for their services.

College-oriented adult programs differ from community-oriented programs in varying ways and to varying degrees. But the essence of college-oriented adult education is that the college looks primarily inward, at its own philosophy, curriculum, faculty, and experience, for its ideas. It is, in a sense, inner-directed.

On another group of campuses a very different attitude toward

adult education was found. Although this attitude varied somewhat from college to college, in substance and in degree, it can be fairly represented by the following statement, which is not a single direct quotation but rather a composite of the explicit and implicit attitudes observed on those campuses: "We have an opportunity and an obligation to meet some of the educational needs and yearnings of the adults in our local and/or denominational constituencies. We are not equipped or staffed or even disposed to meet all such needs, but we will try to meet all of those which seem to us to be appropriate for this college. Where our regular curriculum and faculty can meet a particular adult need we will offer college credit courses at a convenient hour, but we will also seek to create new educational programs to meet some needs which are completely outside of our past experience with young people."

This point of view results in an adult curriculum which is basically community-oriented as compared with the college-oriented curricula discussed above. In every college which has adopted this philosophy the investigator found an active director of adult education who is devoting a major part of his time to developing and administering the adult program, supported by a college president who enthusiastically endorses this extension of the college program beyond its traditional function of educating young men and women.

In most of these colleges the director is responsible for both credit and noncredit phases of the program. The experimental, creative attitude, therefore, influences both aspects of the adult work. In these colleges the credit program for adults tends to draw heavily upon the day curriculum and faculty, but it goes beyond these to a much greater extent than in the college-oriented programs. Courses are introduced which have never been offered to day students, entire content areas which are not part of the day curriculum are sometimes added to the adult schedule, degree requirements are modified, and in general, there is a willingness to depart from traditional academic patterns. It is in the noncredit part of the adult work, however, that the director has the greatest opportunity to create new educational experiences designed specifically to meet adult needs. All of the community-oriented colleges offer noncredit work. The surprising variety of this work has been described in some detail in the preceding section and need not be described again. It is only necessary to point out here that this hetero-

geneity is the result of creative effort on the part of local institutions which are committed to meeting local needs. This is the distinguishing feature of community-oriented programs of adult education.

In some colleges the adult work cannot be classified as a whole in one of these two categories. In reality, these institutions have dual programs. Most of them offer a typical evening college schedule of credit courses drawn from the day curriculum in the college-oriented tradition. But they also have developed a separate noncredit program in response to some community or church need. It is significant that the leadership of the two parts of the program is usually separate. Most often the credit program is administered by a faculty man who also has other administrative or teaching responsibilities. He thinks of the adult work as a direct extension of the day program.

The noncredit programs in these colleges have the characteristics of community-oriented adult education which have already been described above. They vary in content from management development for business and industry to religious education to community improvement. They are, like the credit aspect of the adult work, usually but not always the part-time responsibility of a faculty member.

The presence of the community-oriented noncredit work in these colleges indicates a willingness on the part of the college administration to countenance and perhaps encourage a break with the traditional role of the institution. There is, however, divided responsibility for adult education and there are two philosophies at work. In some cases this is the result of a compromise between those elements in the college which resist any change which they consider a threat to the academic standards of the institution and those who wish to create new ways of meeting new educational challenges. The former can accept the innovations as long as they are not dignified by the awarding of college credit.

Teachers of Adults

Only one other aspect of liberal arts college adult education can be described here, and that only in the briefest terms. Three generalizations can be made concerning the place of the teacher in the adult work of these colleges.

First, there are widespread differences among the colleges with reference to the sources of teachers for adult classes. In general, the

college-oriented programs, offering primarily credit courses, tend to rely heavily upon the full-time faculty. In a typical program of this type thirty of thirty-five teachers of adult classes were regular faculty members. On the other hand, in one institution, classified as community-oriented, 83 per cent of the teachers in the adult program were drawn from outside of the college faculty.

Many of the directors of adult education in the colleges feel that there are in the local community men and women qualified and willing to teach adult classes at the college level. For the most part these are people in professional, technical, or executive positions in business, industry, the armed services, or in public education. Many of them are not only willing; they are eager to teach in a college adult program. They are sometimes more successful in this work than are full-time faculty members, partly because of their closer contact with the non-academic world in which their adult students spend most of their time. This is especially true in courses of a directly vocational nature.

The second point is that the selection of good teachers is tremendously important to the success of the adult program. This sounds too obvious to mention, for the success of any educational effort depends heavily upon its leadership. It is worth noting, however, that there is an immediacy about the problem in adult education which is lacking elsewhere. The full-time students of a college are, in a sense, a captive audience in a particular course. They will tolerate a good deal of poor teaching if the total program is satisfying. Many adult students, on the other hand, will simply depart and not return if they are dissatisfied with the quality of the teaching.

The third generalization about teachers is that most of the teachers interviewed reacted very favorably to their adult classes. This was true of full-time faculty members as well as part-time teachers. Many of the former said that adults are more stimulating to teach than the regular student body because they are more strongly motivated, more mature, and more inclined to challenge the ideas of teachers and authors. Some teachers used the words "thrilling" and "exciting" to describe their experience in teaching adults.

These comments must be interpreted cautiously, for there has been a process of selection which has eliminated from the adult educa-

tion faculty most of those teachers who may have preferred not to teach adults. Nevertheless, the widespread enthusiasm encountered is interesting especially in view of some reports to the contrary from large university faculties. Experience in this study would lead to the tentative conclusion that those teachers will react favorably to the adult situation who are primarily interested in teaching, rather than in research or writing, who are relatively flexible and experimental with regard to teaching methods and procedures, and who welcome classroom discussion with adults who do not readily accept the authority of teacher or textbook.

WHY ADULT EDUCATION IN THE LIBERAL ARTS COLLEGES?

It is clear that the independent liberal arts colleges in the United States were founded and have operated throughout most of their history to provide a full-time educational experience to young high school graduates between the ages of eighteen and twenty-two. Why, then, have more than half of them recently also assumed responsibility for the part-time education of adults? Answers to this question were sought in interviews with college presidents, deans, and directors of adult education. The replies can be classified as dealing with (1) origins, (2) present reasons, and (3) values to the college.

Origins.—In summarizing the origins of liberal arts college adult education it must be said again that most of these programs appear to have been indigenous, local responses to local needs. On most campuses the work was initiated in a very small way by one or two teachers or administrators who saw a specific need in the community and persuaded the college to recognize and meet it. From these small beginnings the adult work grew on each campus as the administration and faculty gradually accepted the new program. Very seldom did a conscious decision on the part of a board of directors or faculty lie behind the beginning of the adult program. The only nonlocal factor mentioned in any interview was World War II, which did provide the impetus in some communities through its demands for special training for adults.

Present reasons.—In talking about the present reasons for having adult education on their campuses the administrators and teachers who were interviewed mentioned fourteen different factors. Some are impor-

tant tenets of an educational philosophy; others are simply facts about contemporary society or about the local community which have influenced the college to work with adults. Only the more important of these can be stated here.

In one way or another most of those interviewed spoke of the obligation of an independent liberal arts college to serve the entire community in which it exists, not just a denominational group or a narrow age group. A typical quotation was, "We are a part of the community. As such we have an obligation to contribute to the cultural development of this community, and also to the vocational, practical education of its citizens." Such statements, of course, beg the question; they are not reasons but simply restatements in a broader context of the decision to offer adult work. Some of the other responses are more revealing.

In a significant number of institutions the adult program was explained partly in terms of "a new definition of liberal arts education." Liberal arts colleges, it was said, must re-examine their functions in our contemporary, industrialized society. In fact, the whole concept of the liberal arts is in need of reappraisal and redefinition. " . . . there should be no dichotomy between vocational education and liberal arts education. The new education must be a fused and newly created type of learning. It is symbiotic. It is not either vocational training or liberal arts education but both vocational training and liberal arts education. The traditional student-centered and subject-centered aspects of higher education need the community-centered attitude as a new dimension." This from the impromptu answer of a midwestern college president to the question, "Why does your college offer adult education?"

The spokesmen for this point of view argued that our present need is for a new philosophy of liberal arts education which retains the essential values of the traditional curriculum but which also recognizes the economic needs of college graduates in contemporary American society and the needs of the culture itself. They pointed out that today almost all graduates of liberal arts colleges must earn a living by their own skills and that the colleges must face this need realistically and meet it in a way which is integrated with the liberal arts curriculum, not simply added to and parallel to it. It is clear that in the thinking of many of these educators adult education breaks the traditional mold of a liberal arts college and must be defended in terms of a new concept

of the role of the college.

Only a few other reasons can be mentioned briefly. It was pointed out on some campuses that it is almost traditional to tell college graduating classes that education should be a lifelong process. If they really believe this, runs this argument, the colleges should provide continuing educational experiences for their alumni and for other adults.

The responsibility of the college for training in citizenship was given as another reason. Education is widely considered to be the sine qua non of an effective democracy. If this is true, adult education is perhaps the most important kind of citizenship education, and a liberal arts college ought to be active in this process.

The same line of reasoning was followed concerning liberal education. If liberal education is the most important type of education, then adults certainly need it throughout life. In this case, the liberal arts college is obviously the logical agency to provide it.

On some campuses the adult education program was justified as part of a trend away from the "ivory tower" attitude, the traditional aloofness of the college from the community. It was pointed out that twenty years ago the townspeople were almost unaware of the college in their midst except for the nuisance of student pranks. On some of these campuses today there is an increasing recognition of many disadvantages inherent in this "ivory tower" existence, and the adult education activities of the college are seen as a wholesome breach in the tower wall.

Several sociological and psychological facts were also mentioned as related to the adult education movement in the colleges. For example, it was pointed out that there is increasing evidence that adults are able to learn many things just as effectively as are young people, and that there are some areas in which the life experiences of adults make them more efficient learners.

The increasing amount of leisure time because of shorter working hours and earlier retirement was cited as a reason for the rising demand for adult education. Also stressed was the fact that there is an increasing emphasis on the value of higher education in contemporary American life, and therefore a growing feeling of need for college education in the minds of men and women. Many of those who feel this

pressure are now adults who for one reason or another failed to go to college as young people. They look to college level adult education to remedy this deficiency. All of these and other reasons seem to some liberal arts colleges to justify their movement into the field of adult education.

Values to the college.—The reasons for offering adult education which have been discussed thus far have dealt primarily with educational purposes and community obligations. Are there not also direct and indirect values to the college accruing from the adult programs? The answer is that there are, indeed, major advantages to the colleges.

It is interesting that so many college administrators were reluctant to discuss these values to the college under the heading of reasons for offering adult education. The idea that the college might enter the field of adult education even partly out of self-interest was clearly unacceptable. Nevertheless, it was evident in almost every interview that the adult programs are assets to the colleges in many ways.

In order to explore fully these benefits to the colleges it was necessary only to approach the question from a slightly different angle. Informants were asked, "Has the college found that there are byproducts in the form of benefits or values to the college which accrue from serving the adults of the community?" This question elicited enthusiastic accounts of advantages to the college. Ten different benefits were specified, and the six most important are presented here in order of the frequency with which they were cited.

In every college and in almost every interview the public relations value of an adult program was described as a major advantage to the college. Although the informants were not asked to rank the benefits of adult education, many of them volunteered the opinion that this is much the most important of the byproducts as far as the college is concerned. "Tremendous, tremendous!" was the comment of the president of one eastern college when the public relations value of the adult program was mentioned.

There is an historical background for this enthusiasm for the improvement of college-community relations. Most independent liberal arts colleges were founded by a church group, and many of them still retain a strong administrative tie with the church even though they now

attract students from other groups. Most of these colleges went through a long period when they were not interested in the local community, attracted few local students, were supported almost entirely by church sources, and in most ways preferred to remain apart from the community. Usually the people of the community reciprocated by ignoring the college.

Some liberal arts colleges still prefer to maintain this separation from the community. But among the institutions visited in this study there is a different spirit, often dating back no farther than World War II. Repeatedly the interviewer was told that the college "must become part of the community," "must serve the entire community," "needs the support of the community." It is within this frame of reference that the presidents, deans, and directors of adult education spoke so enthusiastically in the interviews about the public relations value of the adult program.

In some cases the adult work has simply made the college much better known in the community. "A great many people come to know the college and respect it." "This program keeps the college before them." "It has made the community aware of the college." "It is bringing people to the campus who wouldn't ever know about the college otherwise." "I can't go anyplace in town without meeting people who have been evening students at the college." Each of these statements was made at a different college.

The dean of a college in the South illustrated this point by saying that when he graduated from high school in the community thirty years ago it never occurred to him to go to the local college, and not one member of his high school class did so. This attitude has now changed, and the adult program has been a major influence in the change. The director of adult work in another college in a city of 425,000 said that if you had asked a taxi driver to take you to his college ten years ago there would have been a 50% chance that he would have been unfamiliar with its location. Today, because of the evening program, this college is well known in the city.

The value of the adult program lies not simply in breeding familiarity, however, but in the quality of the relationship which it has created. "Good will," "respect," and "understanding" are terms which appeared repeatedly in the interviews at this point. "There has been a great increase in enthusiastic, comprehending, understanding good

will," as a result of the adult program, was the statement of a college president in the southeast. The adult students "go back and say a good word for the college," said another. It has created "a much more sympathetic understanding of the college" in one midwestern city.

The increased esteem with which the college is regarded was illustrated in a story told by one director of adult education. In a meeting of a community planning board of which he is a member he said that the college would support a proposal for a new city water system. This support was welcomed by the board, but after the meeting one city official commented to him that only a few years ago the support of the college "would have been the kiss of death" to a project like this. This incident occurred less than a week before the interview, and the change in attitude was attributed largely to the effect of the adult program.

The above story also illustrates the fact that some of the colleges are overcoming not only apathy and lack of interest, but active distrust and antipathy. Several informants spoke of this as a longstanding coolness between "town and gown," which is gradually melting under the influence of the closer contact brought about by the adult program.

A special case of this situation is the church-related college in a community in which the population is largely of another faith. In one case the officials of a Roman Catholic college in an overwhelmingly Protestant city said that the adult program attracts many non-Catholics and helps to break down "prejudice" which has been felt in the past. The same story, in reverse, was heard from the dean of a non-Catholic school in a predominantly Catholic community who said that the adult courses have helped the college to "win its way" with the local people.

Special emphasis was placed on the fact that the adult work convinces the local citizens that the college is interested in them and anxious to serve them. "It makes more tangible the educational services" which the college is bringing to the community. One director told the writer of a man who said that he had lived near the college for many, many years, but this is the first time he had the feeling that the college was at all interested in him.

If the independent liberal arts colleges are in need of better community relations they are in even greater need of more adequate financial support. This desperate need is too well known and publicized to require documentation here.

What has been the financial effect of their adult education work upon the colleges? This question can be answered in two ways, for the adult work has both a direct and an indirect financial impact on the college. In terms of profit and loss on current operations, about three-quarters of the colleges which were studied intensively say that they are realizing a direct financial surplus from their adult work. This statement requires some explanation.

The greatest difficulty in determining direct financial results lies in assessing the costs of operating such a program. All direct costs such as teachers' salaries, administrative salaries, advertising, special janitorial service, and other expenses can be charged against the program. A question arises, however, when general overhead expenses are estimated. How much should be charged for use of rooms, heat, light, use of office equipment, and other similiar items? Some of these expenses would be approximately the same for the college with or without the adult program.

The colleges which reported a financial surplus from their adult education programs had all made what they considered to be a reasonable charge against the program for these overhead costs. The amount of this charge was in some cases a matter of disagreement between the adult education director and the business office, but the surplus was still there even after deducting a maximum figure.

Needless to say, a profit derived from any part of the educational program of the college is a very unusual phenomenon. Private colleges do not expect their operations to be self-supporting, to say nothing of bringing in more than they cost. Each of these colleges must raise many thousands of dollars in gifts annually to balance the budget. They are classified as "nonprofit" institutions and are tax-exempt on this basis. It is true that the surplus from the adult program is too small to threaten the "nonprofit" status of the institution, but it nevertheless provides a unique situation on most liberal arts college campuses.

Some college officials admitted to this favorable financial situation with reluctance, even evident embarrassment, as if a surplus derived from part of the educational program were faintly immoral. The attitude expressed in a majority of the interviews, however, was that a profit is better than a deficit, but that the college would be perfectly satisfied to break even on its adult work, feeling that there are many noneconomic

reasons for providing educational services for adults.

Not all colleges, of course, receive more in fees than the adult program costs them. Some plan their finances so that the college breaks even; others subsidize the adult work for one reason or another.

Thus far, the discussion has covered only the direct financial results of adult education. The indirect economic effects are more simply stated. Almost two-thirds of the colleges have received and are receiving financial gifts which are believed to be the result of interest and good will created by the adult work of the college. In many cases the increase in giving was described as relatively large. Of those colleges which did not report increased giving, some indicated that they expect to see such an increase in the future.

One college president answered a telephone call during the interview. After the call was completed he said that it was a report of a $500 gift to the college which in his judgment would not have been made before the college began serving the adults of the city.

One additional economic factor should be mentioned. At several colleges it was pointed out that the use of college facilities during evening hours is economically sound for the college, even if these activities do no more than pay direct expenses plus a fair share of overhead. College classrooms stand idle a large proportion of the time. This results in a very high cost for physical facilities per unit of educational activity. A more complete use of the buildings results in a wider distribution of the fixed costs and therefore a lower cost per unit of instruction.

A third benefit to the college lies in the expanded and enriched curriculum which the adult program brings to the full-time student body. This, of course, is dependent upon a policy which permits day students to register for adult classes—an issue on which college officials are divided.

In almost all of the colleges studied, full-time students are permitted to register for adult classes under at least some circumstances. On almost two-thirds of the campuses, however, the practice is carefully restricted and is discouraged except in special cases. The reasons for this attitude are numerous, but their validity is questioned in a few colleges where the advantages of mixing younger students and adults are cited.

There are several ways in which the adult program can expand and enrich the available curriculum for day students if the latter are permitted to take advantage of them. For example, a particular course may attract such a small enrollment from the full-time student body that it cannot be offered as a day class. The potential adult enrollment in the course may also be too small to support a class. The combined demand, however, is often large enough to justify offering such a course in the evening, open to both student groups. Many colleges reported examples of this practice.

The adult program may also present an opportunity to offer classes which the full-time faculty is not prepared to teach. In many small liberal arts colleges the faculty cannot be large enough to cover every appropriate field of knowledge. Under such circumstances some colleges report that they are able to add valuable courses to their curricula by bringing in qualified part-time evening teachers, either from other institutions of higher education or from the community at large. The curriculum available to full-time students in these institutions is thus enriched.

In addition to the direct enrichment of the available curriculum, the adult program sometimes achieves a related objective by providing more flexibility in the class schedule. Students are permitted to take an evening class when there is a conflict which prevents enrollment in the same class during the day. Students who are employed part-time and those engaged in practice teaching often find this procedure a help in scheduling.

Closely related to the enrichment of the curriculum is the possibility of augmenting the faculty as a result of the adult program. In almost half of the colleges which were studied intensively it has been possible to add some full-time teachers because they could be used in both the regular day program and in the adult program. In many cases these new teachers brought to the faculty competence in an area in which it had formerly been weak.

The number of additional teachers justified by the adult program varied from one to seven in these colleges. The subjects taught by these additional faculty members include business administration, economics, political science, education, English, and art. On some campuses a new

department has been organized, one which was beyond the resources of the college before the advent of the adult program.

Perhaps the most controversial "value" named in some colleges is that the adult program provides additional income for faculty members. On no other aspect of adult education do the liberal arts colleges differ as widely as on this matter.

Many colleges, almost half of those studied, do not pay teachers extra for teaching adult classes. In these institutions there is usually a strong feeling that the practice of additional remuneration will inevitably lead to excessive teaching loads, serious encroachment on the teacher's study and research time, and therefore a lowering of standards in the long run. In such colleges an adult class is usually part of the teacher's regular class load and must come within the twelve or fifteen hour limit in effect on the campus.

In slightly more than half of the colleges, however, there is additional remuneration for teaching adult classes, and this is often looked upon by teachers and administrators as a major benefit. There are many widely differing ways of administering this additional salary. In some cases there is a relatively large fixed salary payment for each class; in others only a small bonus. On a few campuses there is a complicated formula tied to the total financial results of the adult program.

The effect of these plans on the total teaching load is certainly not uniform. In most cases the additional remuneration is related to a teaching overload. Sometimes this means that the adult course brings the total to sixteen, seventeen, or eighteen hours. In other colleges, however, where the normal load is twelve hours, the overload results in no more than a fifteen hour total which is considered normal in many other institutions. In a few cases there is a financial bonus for an evening adult class even where overloads are not permitted, on the theory that an evening class is less convenient and less desirable.

Many college officials justify the system of additional remuneration, arguing that teachers are underpaid and should be permitted to earn a little extra money through an exercise of their one saleable skill. They point out that teachers of accounting and engineering are permitted and even encouraged to maintain some professional activities in addition to teaching. Why, they ask, should not a teacher of literature augment his

income by teaching one night a week?

One final claim for adult education is that it has improved teaching in some colleges. "A teacher is a better teacher of adolescents if he also teaches the more mature adults from time to time," is the opinion of one college president. This improvement is explained as a result of the challenge which comes from being forced to "check their theories against the life experiences" of the adult students. In one eastern college it was reported that experience with the adult program has stimulated the restudy and reorganization of the entire curriculum in one department.

IN CONCLUSION

Can the data presented on these pages answer the ultimate question on this subject, "Should the liberal arts colleges engage in adult education?" It is immediately obvious that no research can answer this question, for the answer rests on the fundamental decisions concerning educational philosophy and the function of the college in society which every institution must make for itself.

Education is the largest single enterprise in the United States. Educational needs and the machinery to meet them are as extensive and as complex as life itself. Each stage in the development of the individual—pre-school, childhood, adolescence, young adulthood, maturity, retirement—has its special educational needs. Education is required for intellectual development, vocational competence, group living, citizenship, mental and physical health, recreation, family responsibilities, appreciation of art and nature, and for deeper understanding of life and death themselves.

Out of this welter of needs to be met and publics to be served each institution must select certain tasks, guided in the selection by its own educational philosophy. Clearly, no institution can meet more than a small segment of the total need. Each college must decide whether the education of part-time adult students is one of its appropriate services to society, and, if so, what sort of education it will provide, for even adult education is much too broad a field for one college to encompass.

Perhaps, however, the data presented here can be of some assistance to colleges which have not yet answered these questions. Perhaps, indeed, the questions can and should be reworded now, to read this way:

If there are unmet "college-level" educational needs among adults in the community, and if meeting such needs would violate no important element of institutional policy or philosophy, and if such action can also bring significant values to the college, is it not both expedient and appropriate for each college to examine carefully its opportunities and possible obligations in the field of adult education?

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